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June 18, 1998

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Kamau Philbert, Esquire
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

Re: MURs 4322 and 4650

Dear Mr. Philbert:

As you may know, Joseph P. Waldholtz gave prison interviews recently to two newspapers, The Hill and The Salt Lake Tribune, during which he discussed issues relevant to the Commission's resolution of the above-referenced matters. Copies of the resulting newspaper articles are enclosed for your review. These articles support fully the argument that we have been making to the Commission for nearly one year and to the federal government for over two and one-half years: that neither D. Forrest Greene nor Enid Greene was aware that Joseph P. Waldholtz was illegally funneling funds he had obtained by fraud from Mr. Greene into the Enid '94 campaign accounts.

Several passages from the enclosed articles merit your attention. Last Wednesday's article in The Hill states that:

He [Waldholtz] said he knew that they would need more money than Enid could or would raise well before the 1994 election, and that's when he started his periodic calls to Enid's wealthy father, Forrest Greene, for 'loans' that he then funneled into their campaign - in violation of election law.

Enid, he maintains, was unaware of his plans. 'Was Enid ambitious? Yes. Misdeeds? No. Enid is a supremely talented individual, one of the finest public speakers I've ever seen. Enid will definitely be back. And I'll be rooting for her from the sidelines.'

Javers, Joe Waldholtz in Prison: Slimmer, Sober and Penitent, The Hill, June 10, 1998, at 36, col. 1.

Kamau Philbert, Esquire
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Similarly, last Sunday's article in The Salt Lake Tribune contains the following exculpatory statement:

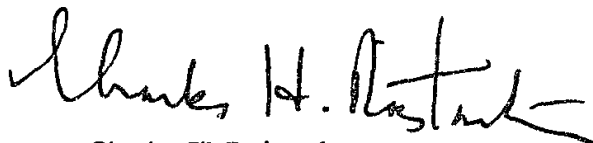
Desperate for money, Waldholtz claimed his family trust was tied up in litigation and looked elsewhere. He said he devised a transfer of cash to the campaign from Enid's millionaire father, D. Forrest Greene, in exchange for a bogus piece of Pittsburgh real estate. He convinced Enid it was legal on paper, and they approached Mr. Greene, who agreed.

Semerad, Waldholtz Is Ready to Tell His Side of Story, The Salt Lake Tribune, June 14, 1998.

Joseph P. Waldholtz's description of the so-called "asset swap" is particularly telling, because it confirms the sequence of events both Mr. Greene and Ms. Greene have consistently described to the Commission. See Joint Response at 28-33; Exhibit Vol. 5, Tabs 2-5. In short, Joseph P. Waldholtz has again admitted "his sole responsibility" for the misdeeds which the Commission is investigating and has thereby cleared our clients of any wrongdoing.

We hope and expect that the publication of these prison interviews will remove any possible remaining doubts the Commission may have regarding the complete innocence of D. Forrest and Enid Greene, and we look forward to an expeditious resolution of the above-referenced matters. There is absolutely no legitimate reason to keep these matters pending any further.

Sincerely,



Charles H. Roistacher



Brett G. Kappel

For Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy LLP
Counsel to D. Forrest Greene, Enid Greene, Enid '94 and Enid '96

encs.

cc: Lawrence Noble, Esquire
Mark Allen, Esquire
D. Forrest Greene
Enid Greene

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Wednesday, June 10, 1998

MINIMUM SECURITY



Joe Waldholtz, former unpaid chief of staff to his then wife, Rep. Enid Greene Waldholtz, at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp.

Joe Waldholtz in prison: slimmer, sober and penitent

By Eamon Javers

Joe Waldholtz, inmate number 20396-016, walked into the visitor's room at the Allenwood Federal Prison Camp in central Pennsylvania Monday morning to tell the tale of his fantastic rise and fall as Congress' most spectacular election law breaker.

But the first words out of his mouth were a lie, his ex-wife Enid Greene said later.

As he stepped into the interview room this week, Waldholtz told an interviewer, "Enid sure was angry when I told her I was going to talk to you."

Enid, reached by telephone at her home in Salt Lake City, said that was a lie — Joe had, in fact, told her he was not going to break his press silence. "This is vintage Joe Waldholtz," Greene said. "This shows the extent of the games he continues to play, even in prison."

Waldholtz, tanned by outdoor exercise and nearly 300 pounds slimmer than the 487 pounds he weighed at his peak, is serving a 37-month sentence for election fraud.

His daily routine consists of rising at 5:30 a.m., often followed by a morning run on the jogging trail of the prison compound, which has no fences. Then comes breakfast, which is served in Allenwood's communal cafeteria. Next, he heads to work. Each inmate has a task each day —

Waldholtz says he has worked at the complex's power plant, then as a clerk for the camp's parenting and job skills program, and now in general maintenance in his dormitory-style building, Unit C.

He also attends substance abuse counseling sessions "very, very regularly," saying, "I've spent a lot of time working on sobriety and a lot of time working on the physical side of things."

His arrest and the subsequent revelations that he had embezzled more than \$4 million from his father-in-law and used it to finance his wife's congressional campaign brought down the career of Rep. Enid Greene Waldholtz (R-Utah), who hadn't completed her first term when the scandal

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 36

TV stations ration campaign advertising, citing high demand

By Lindsay Sobel

Due to record-breaking spending on primaries this year, the demand for political advertising time has been so high that television stations cannot — or will not — sell candidates all the time they would like to buy.

As a result, candidates are chafing television stations with silencing debate, while stations insist that they are doing their best to balance the overwhelming demands of candidates with their own need to run a profitable business.

"It doesn't seem like too much to ask to make time available to candidates who want to debate important issues," said Steve McMahon, a Democratic media consultant. "Stations would rather run Pizza Hut ads than ads for candidates, because stations make more money on Pizza Hut."

Stations are required to offer reason-

able advertising time to federal candidates — but not state and local ones — and to offer equal time to all candidates in the same race. Since stations must offer candidates lower rates, commercial advertising is more profitable for the stations.

Alan Buckman, director of sales for the television station KPIN in San Francisco, was amazed at the demand for ad time for the California primaries this month. "We anticipated it to be large, but more money kept coming in and coming in," he said. "Far more than the representatives for the candidates initially told us."

"If they could have, they would have bought every ad on the station," he said. As a result of heavy demands by Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls Al Checchi and Jane Harman, "When we looked at what they wanted, we basically cut them way back," he said.

Susan Neilsen, media liaison for KCBH-

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Idaho delegation backs funds for rancher dad of staffer

By Jock Friedly

The Idaho congressional delegation is backing unusual legislation that would compensate private ranchers who will be displaced as the Air Force prepares a bombing range on federally owned grazing lands.

The idea of using public funds to reimburse ranchers for land they don't even own has caused environmental activists and federal land management officials alike to fear the precedent it could set.

But what also has raised eyebrows is that only one rancher is expected to benefit:

Bert Brackett, a long-time political supporter of Idaho Republicans whose daughter, Jani, is a legislative assistant here in Washington for one of the backers of the bill, Sen. Larry Craig (R-Idaho).

Craig's office said Jani Brackett has played no role in the matter. "She's kept entirely out of the loop on anything dealing with this legislation, as well it should be," said Craig Press Secretary Michael Frandsen. "I couldn't even talk to her. She didn't know anything about this."

Furthermore, supporters insist that the legislative language — authored by Sen.

■ CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

Senators from same state put eggs in one basket

By Mary Lynn F. Jones

Virginia Democrat Chuck Robb was wary about joining the powerful Armed Services Committee when he was first elected to the Senate in 1988.

Despite his extensive Marine background, including nine years of active duty, Robb, who joined the Foreign Relations Committee at the time, didn't ask for a seat on the committee that already included the state's senior member, former Navy secretary and then-ranking

Republican John Warner.

While Robb said he was ultimately recruited to the committee by former Panel Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and several of the service chiefs, his initial reluctance isn't a surprise considering Senate protocol and electoral prospects. Stacking a committee with two same-state senators, who could favor their home state in committee business and pursue policies too narrowly focused to satisfy broader voter interests, was considered unwise.

When two senators from the same state

are on the same committee, that state is unrepresented on other committees that also affect a state's interests. Senators can especially extend their influence by taking seats on the Finance, Appropriations and Budget committees.

Now, however, the two Old Dominion senators are part of a trend in the 105th Congress: 15 sets of same-state senators serve on at least one committee together, and two pairs serve on two committees together. Nine of the pairs hail from different parties.

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Waldholtz in prison: slimmer, sober, penitent

■ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1
broke.

Greene said Waldholtz is a psychopath and a liar, and that his schemes to defraud others won't end when he is released from prison — which, depending on his good behavior, could come as early as December or January.

Waldholtz, dressed in a tan prison outfit and white New Balance sneakers, considers himself like any other disgraced political official who can go to prison, learn his lessons, and return to society. He plans to get an MBA degree upon his release and says he will start life anew — away from political Washington, away from Enid in Utah, and away from his angry family in Pennsylvania.

He attributes much of his problem to substance abuse that started with marijuana and painkillers and blossomed to include injecting heroin by the time he was caught.

Asked why he pretended to be the heir to a \$400 million fortune while he defrauded his new family after his marriage to Enid, Waldholtz said, "Obviously, it made me feel better about myself. I don't think it takes a rocket scientist to see that it fits with the substance abuse and weight problem."

But Enid, now living with the couple's almost-3-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, is unforgiving. "What else do you expect him to say? He has no remorse. ... he is not rehabilitated, he is not a normal person. ... I have to now live with this for the rest of my life."

Greene said she is finally happy with her life, but that she wants to go back to work soon, either as a lawyer or for a large Utah corporation. She says her future won't necessarily include politics, that she "would like to rebuild my reputation." Politics can wait. "If that opportunity arises at some point in the next 40 years, maybe I'll do it, but it's not something I need to do again."

Waldholtz, asked when his charade began, said, "God, I can't give you any specific on that, but it was something that was there for a long time. In politics, people like to pretend they're a lot of things that they're not, or to shift things ever so slightly. ... It's the spin, the image, a lot of people are caught up in all that."

But he now says the mirage he presented to the public was: "Stupid. Unnecessary. And very much a part of the past."

Waldholtz said his scheme to secretly defraud Enid's father of millions of dollars they would need to run a second congressional campaign in 1994 began when Enid was defeated in her first race for Congress in 1992, against Rep. Karen Shepherd (D-Utah). "Neither of us could stomach the loss. And I'm not proud of that. Not proud of that at all."

He said he knew that they would need more money than Enid could or would raise well before the 1994 election, and that's when he started his periodic calls to Enid's wealthy father, Forrest Greene, for "loans" that he then funneled into their campaign — in violation of election law.

Enid, he maintains, was unaware of his plans. "Was Enid ambitious? Yes. Modest? No. Enid is a supremely talented individual, one of the finest public speakers I've ever seen. Enid will definitely be back. And I'll be rooting from the sidelines."



Joe Waldholtz at Allenwood Prison Camp.

EAMON JAVERS

Ultimately, the Department of Justice agreed with Enid's argument that she had been duped by Waldholtz and cleared her of wrongdoing — albeit in a process that she now says was carried out for too long by prosecutors out to make their own reputa-

tions.

Talking about the method of his crimes, Waldholtz speaks in the passive voice, almost as if he is reluctant to admit that it was he who committed the crimes he describes. "A lot of stories were circulated

about supposed gifts, supposed trusts, supposed real estate swaps, that's all been talked to death," he said. "Stories were invented for my situation that we needed."

After losing weight during his lengthy court battle, Waldholtz has lost 125 pounds since coming to Allenwood, which is sometimes derided as "Club Fed," for its minimum security luxuries for prisoners — the greatest of which is that the complex is not fenced in. During any of his daily runs on the compound's jogging track, Waldholtz could easily slip into the woods and make a break for it. He doesn't try to escape, he said, because that will only bring him more — and harder — time.

Nestled next to a private golf course and a technical college, a passerby could easily mistake Allenwood for nearby Susquehanna High School. Most of the inmates are there for non-violent drug offenses, but 21.9 percent are there for extortion, bribery or fraud. Only 1.8 percent are there for white-collar crimes, according to a fact sheet provided by the Bureau of Prisons.

Waldholtz still finds time for leisure activities that he says friends in Washington would be shocked at. His excess weight and pasty pallor gone, he says he's focused on keeping the weight off.

He says, "I run, do aerobics, lift weights. Play a mean game of bocce. I'm a very ardent supporter of the softball team. ... [This] shocks people to death because I was Mr. Inher Person."

"I'm doing a lot of things I haven't done before," he said, "and I'm healthier for it."

Joe Waldholtz: In his own words

Joe Waldholtz sat down with *The Hill* at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp Monday to break his media silence about his crimes. He spoke with *The Hill's* Eamon Javers. Following are excerpts from the conversation.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Q: How long were you in rehab, and what was that process like?

A: 10 days. ... Rehab was necessary, rehab was tough, and rehab was the beginning of an opportunity that you know is carrying forward to this day.

Q: You were addicted to painkillers, and you were using regular street grade heroin?

A: You know it's funny, I still kind of cringe in talking about that. I had a problem with narcotics for years. When someone weighs 487 pounds, obviously, you're not real comfortable with yourself. And I was in politics and the narcotics seemed to help. There were times of sobriety in there, but it was like a dry drunk.

Q: When did you first start using drugs? When you were a kid? When you were already working in politics?

A: Experimenting as a kid.

Q: And what kinds of drugs did you start with?

A: Silly stuff that everyone starts with.

Q: Marijuana ...?

A: Right. Uh, but it didn't become a problem until years later. I deeply regret

my substance abuse. It makes sense to me now, the weight, the abuse of narcotics. It makes sense. And it's pretty simple to understand what was wrong. I wish I'd done that at the time.

Q: There are a lot of people who would burst out laughing to hear Joe Waldholtz talking about living life in a law-abiding fashion. You're a guy who, after you were busted for the first time for check kiting, continued to write bad checks, continued to do drugs, so that was a warning scare that didn't shock you straight. Why would two years, three years at Club Fed shock you straight?

A: Uh, I was pretty sick at the time. I'm not now. There were things I needed to deal with that I didn't.

Q: What's changed?

A: Sobriety, for one. Which is just an incredible, incredible thing. I almost consider it a gift. I don't want to sound preachy — people in Utah would accuse me of sounding Mormon, but it's just different. I really messed up. And I just couldn't seem. ... I couldn't see a way out of it. There were times I really didn't think I was going to make it through.

THE CHARADE

Q: [You, from very early in your relationship with Enid, affected the life of a multi-millionaire, and gave everyone the impression that you were a very wealthy man, that you had access to this Waldholtz family trust. Why did you feel the need to

do that?

A: Well first, the specifics like that were never discussed, at that point. Obviously, it made me feel better about myself. I don't think it takes a rocket scientist to see that that fits in with the substance abuse and the weight problem.

Q: When did you first start letting on that you were a wealthy man, wealthier than you really were?

A: God, I can't give you any specific on that but it was something that was there for a long time. In politics, people like to pretend they're a lot of things they're not, or to shift things ever so slightly.

Q: You say shift things ever so slightly in politics?

A: Yeah, it's the spin, the image, a lot of people are caught up in all that.

Q: Did it start out as, like you say, ever so slightly and then snowball?

A: Right. Stupid. Unnecessary. And very much a part of the past.

Q: You're the boy who cried wolf in this scenario. You, according to all the allegations, stole money from your grandmother, your employer in Pittsburgh, from your father-in-law, to the tune of \$4 million. You were also using illegal narcotics during the course of this whole time. Once you were caught, you continued to use the narcotics, continued to write bad checks, and steal credit cards from your own lawyers during this whole time frame. Some people say

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Joe Waldholtz: Thoughts on scandal and prison

■ CONTINUED FROM PAGE 36

that you're either sick with some kind of mental instability or that there's some malicious kind of anger. Get back at society. Why did you do it?

A: Um, again, not responding to all of those allegations, some of which are interesting, why did I do the election thing? To win.

Q: What about the \$4 million that came from Mr. Greene?

A: To win.

Q: What about the lavish lifestyle, the silk ties, the terrific suits, the great shoes.

A: Those are the things that I kind of have a problem with because I don't want

to point the finger at any others in this situation. I'll just say that at the weight that I was, clothing was hardly one of our biggest expenses for me. And I'm just going to leave it there because I have nothing negative to say about anyone. And I have read with some good humor some of the things that have been written and that's okay. That's political spin and that's fine. Army-Navy surplus stores. Clothing was not a big expense of ours, for me. That's laughable and I just won't get into anything else about that.

Q: What about the art? At the same time you're living on borrowed, if not stolen,

money, at that point from Mr. Greene, but you're buying \$23,000 pieces of art.

A: I'm not going to get involved in the tennis match back and forth of "He said, She said." I'm just going to leave that stuff where it is. I don't really. Again, I find it surprising, if not funny that of the things that were commented on in our lifestyle, it was my ties and my suits. And I'll just leave it there. No one else needs to be hurt or dragged through anything. It's just past.

CLUB FED

Q: Is this Club Fed? Is this hard time?

A: Club Fed doesn't exist. Is it hard

time? No, but Club Fed does not exist. ... It's not a gulag, but this isn't Maui, and you can't go home and get on with your family and friends, and you're not as productive as you could be. So rather than looking at the negative side of it by saying, it's Club Fed, he lost weight, isn't that great, I ... a lot of people come here, and like I said earlier, this choice is made. You can either be on this negative trip or you need to figure out what you need to do and you go do it, and that's entirely up to the individual, because the system doesn't provide for that, and most people think it really shouldn't. It's up to the individual to make it or fake it. I've chosen to make it.

THE CLINTON SCANDALS:

Q: Are you keeping up with the Clinton scandals?

A: Let me just say this about our president. ... At some point, speaking as one who lived a charade, it's time for the charade to end. I take no pleasure or pride in saying that, but I find what the White House does offensive. I look forward to a change in leadership there. ... I'm in here for election fraud, so after everybody is done throwing mud at me for what I did, I really think I can actually speak about that issue. And there's just too much of it. It's just gone too far, too often. And they're very slick and very good at how they deal it, and my hat's off to them for that. But it really does hurt the country, and it certainly diminishes the office. I know, because I did the same thing.

Q: Ironically the same judge ...

A: I know. I've read, Judge [Norma Holloway] Johnson [the same judge presiding over the Clinton case] is a fair judge. I think she ...

Q: She was pretty tough on you, though.

A: She was right. I agree with what she said. ... I think it's going to be quite an interesting summer for the Clinton White House.

GREENE BRIEF

Greene says Joe won't reform

Former Rep. Enid Greene (R-Utah) did not rule out a return to politics in an interview Monday, although she called the possibility unlikely.

Almost three years after the scandal that drove her from office, Greene said her attention is fully focused on her daughter, Elizabeth, who will be 3 years old in August. "There's no question she will be hurt by this. She won't get a normal Ozzy and Harriet lifestyle, like I expected she would," Greene said. "To add to that is this whole strange and sordid episode. I want to make sure she's grounded so she doesn't wake up some day and say, 'There's something wrong with me because of who my father is.'"

As for Joe Waldholtz, Greene expects him to continue to swindle people when he gets out of jail next year. "He will find somebody else. There's no question that when you deal with him, if he wants to make you a believer, he is very convincing."

—EAMON JAVERS

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The Salt Lake Tribune

< FRONT PAGE WORLD UTAH SPORTS OPINION BUSINESS SCIENCE >

Thursday, June 11, 1998

The New Waldholtz

BY TONY SEMERAD
THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE

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MONTGOMERY,
Pennsylvania -- Joseph P.
Waldholtz, once the
rotund, lie-spouting con
man behind Utah's worst
modern political scandal,
says federal prison has
transformed him.

The man who shattered
the career of his ex-wife, former Utah Congresswoman Enid Greene, has
shed about 120 pounds and looks slender in sandy-colored inmate khakis.
The doughy face once flashed on millions of TV screens now is tanned,
another perk of his daily jogs around the grounds of Allenwood Federal
Prison Camp in central Pennsylvania.

More importantly, Waldholtz says, his attitude has changed, too. As the
expert check bouncer finishes up a 37-month prison sentence for election,
tax and bank fraud -- with time off for good behavior -- he claims to be a
man intent on "healing, making amends and moving forward with my
life.

"I am so very sorry for the incredible pain and embarrassment that I
caused so many people, particularly our family, friends, and political
supporters," Waldholtz told The Salt Lake Tribune in a prison interview
this week.

"I don't expect or deserve instant credibility. But what I do expect is a
shot to go out and rebuild my life, and I think I'll get that."

Scheduled to be moved later this summer from the Allenwood
minimum-security prison near Montgomery, Penn., to a halfway house,
Waldholtz says he plans to return to school for an MBA. He remains a
political junkie -- Joe has followed every turn of President Clinton's
current travails -- but says he wants to avoid any return to spin control as
a career.

"I'm not interested anymore in bending what I have to say to try to
make it acceptable or agreeable to 51 percent of 'X,'" he says. "That just
doesn't do it for me anymore."

Waldholtz embezzled nearly \$4 million from his former father-in-law
and illegally funneled much of it into the 1994 congressional campaign of
Enid Greene Waldholtz -- all the while duping her and others into
believing he was the beneficiary of a \$400 million family trust.

The former executive director of the Utah Republican Party and
ex-Pennsylvania GOP operative also pilfered at least \$388,000 -- and
probably much more -- from the estate of his senile grandmother, Rebecca



Joe Waldholtz says prison has been transforming,
and not just for his body. Jennifer Domenick)

Levenson of Pittsburgh, putting her in dire financial straits, until her death in April 1997.

Touched off by his dramatic five-day dash from the law in November 1995, the Waldholtz scandal led Greene to seek a divorce and eventually step down after only one term in Congress. Even after his arrest, Waldholtz kept bouncing and forging checks, popping prescription pills and injecting heroin briefly before landing in the slammer.

At his sentencing in October 1996, U.S. District Judge Norma Holloway of Washington, D.C., said no prison term would be enough for Waldholtz to atone for his attempts to manipulate Utah's 2nd Congressional District election in 1994 as Enid's campaign treasurer and chief of staff.

Enid Greene has maintained throughout that she was utterly unaware of the massive deception until Joe's disappearance and the storm of publicity that ensued, claiming at one point she was "as stupid, as blind, as gullible, as naive, [and] as trusting as anyone can be with another human being."

Reached Wednesday at her Holladay home, Greene says Waldholtz is not capable of abandoning his old ways, and that his behavior is pathologically ingrained.

"People like Joe don't change," she says. "I hope prison has been sufficiently unpleasant that he doesn't want to go back, and that will put some boundaries on his behavior."

Since he was jailed, Greene and Waldholtz have maintained periodic contact to discuss their daughter Elizabeth, who is almost 3 years old. But Greene says she wants no part in his future life, nor for him to have any part in hers.

"He is a psychopath and he is a liar and I don't think that comes as a surprise to anybody," Greene says. "If he told me the sun came up this morning, I'd have to go check."

Members of Waldholtz's family, meanwhile, are hopeful he can make good. His parents phone him almost daily.

"Time will tell," says Joe's father, Harvey Waldholtz, once driven to changing the locks on his Pittsburgh home to keep Joe from stealing. "I'm anxious for him to get out of prison and get on with his life."

Life at Allenwood, a minimum-security facility set near Montgomery in Pennsylvania's pastoral Sesquehanna Valley, is "not exactly the gulag, but it's not Club Fed, either," says Waldholtz. Instead of locked cells, inmates live in dormitories that face a central grassy campus. There are no perimeter fences or gun towers. There hasn't been a stabbing in 12 years, according to one prison representative.

"These aren't career criminals," says Dennis Faulk, manager of Allenwood's Unit C, home to suspected communists in the late 1950s and where Charles Colson and G. Gordon Liddy served terms for their Watergate involvement.

About 60 percent of inmates are drug offenders, says Faulk, and the rest, white-collar felons and "businessmen who took the wrong shortcuts."

Waldholtz, says Faulk, "has not been any kind of a management problem."

Although inmates were abuzz with the notoriety of his case when he first arrived at Allenwood, Waldholtz since has blended in well, Faulk says.

Waldholtz has held jobs in the prison power plant, as a clerk for the

camp's education programs, and as a maintenance worker in his prison dormitory building. Waldholtz says he jogs five miles daily -- "Me. Running. Unbelievable," he says -- and lifts weights, as part of a regimented prison schedule that sees him rise at 5:30 a.m. every day.

And while the big gut is gone, his gift for an acerbic wit appears to have survived intact. At one point, he refers to a fellow inmate arrested in a military base protest as someone "who never got over the 1960s or heard that the Supremes broke up." Another time, he notes that even federal prisoners "get to watch Must See TV," referring to NBC's Thursday night programming line-up.

"My smile," he notes, "is still there."

Waldholtz says he has taken advantage of the substance-abuse counseling programs Allenwood offers, including a 500-hour series of classes meant to, among other things, de-program him of his criminal lifestyle. He is especially proud of his stint as secretary of the Unit C chapter of Alcoholics and Narcotics Anonymous.

Prison programs, he says, have given him insights into his blaze of political and financial corruption. "I've had longstanding issues with substance abuse, food addiction. There was obviously something deeply, deeply wrong with me," he says.

Waldholtz insists that his criminal spree was not born of a systematic plan, but was instead an irrational series of stumbles "from crisis to crisis. I didn't give it any thought. It was insane.

"It didn't have to be. We could have had a wonderfully happy life," he says, referring to Greene. "The pain that goes with losing that is incalculable."

Federal guidelines call for Waldholtz to spend up to six months in a halfway house, as a transition between Allenwood and the outside world. And even after he is free, he faces up to five years of supervised parole.

He says he plans to settle away from Pittsburgh and will only visit Utah, to see his daughter and the few friends who have stuck by him.

"I had some good years in Utah," he says. Tribune reporter Dan Harrie contributed to this story.



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The Salt Lake Tribune

FRONT PAGE WORLD UTAH SPORTS OPINION BUSINESS SUNDAY ARTS TRAVEL

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Waldholtz Is Ready to Tell His Side of Story

By TONY SEMERAD

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MONTGOMERY, Penn. -- In January 1995, Joe Waldholtz sat beside his wife, newly elected Utah Congresswoman Enid Greene Waldholtz, amid the noise and grandeur of the U.S. House of Representatives chamber in Washington.

Chills ran down his spine. Around them were the fresh faces of the 104th Congress, riding a historic Republican groundswell and ready to reform the nation. A humbled President Clinton soon would take the podium to deliver his State of the Union.

Two years later, Waldholtz watched Clinton's annual speech from a folding metal chair in federal prison, divorced, bankrupt, abandoned by family, battling drug addiction.

Found out as one of the most spectacular con men in congressional history, the brash political consultant once known for his biting wit, election insights and huge waistline now faced three years behind bars for trashing the U.S. Constitution.

Questions echoed loudly about his rise and fall. How could so many -- friends, his family, campaign aides, the Utah Republican Party, creditors, and even banks -- have been fooled?

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More importantly, how could Enid Greene, a sharp GOP lawyer whose 1994 election victory to Utah's 2nd Congressional District was built on Joe's massive fraud, not have known of the deceit?

Last week, in a five-hour interview with *The Salt Lake Tribune*, his first with a Utah media outlet since landing in jail, Waldholtz may have raised more questions than he answered.

He illegally influenced -- some say, stole -- a federal election. Waldholtz convinced Enid's father to give him \$4 million, half of which Joe funneled into her campaign, in violation of federal law. He pilfered nearly \$1.7 million from his enfeebled grandmother and secretly mortgaged his mother's home. Waldholtz wrote hundreds of bad checks, and stole credit cards from friends, aides and even his defense lawyers to feed his lavish appetites.



Joe Waldholtz at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp near Montgomery in central Pennsylvania.
(Jennifer Domenick)

Almost every word from his mouth was a lie.

Now he says there never was a plan, that he made up Utah's worst political fraud as he went along.

"There was no orchestrated agenda and that may be the hardest thing for people to believe," Waldholtz said in the visitors room at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp in central Pennsylvania.

"It was irrational. Madness. Absolute madness," he said, adding he was driven by drug and weight problems that pushed him well above 330 pounds.

"You can't be that heavy and you can't abuse narcotics that badly and not have some issues that need to be dealt with," said Waldholtz.

Looking thinner, tan, and claiming to have changed during his prison stay, the 35-year-old Pittsburgh native said he takes full responsibility for his titanic spree of political and financial corruption.

"I have a lot of amends to make for a whole lot of destruction in my past," he said. "I desperately wish that it hadn't happened like this and that so many people hadn't been hurt."

And, although he worked for months with federal prosecutors probing for evidence that might implicate his wife, then a high-profile protege of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Joe now says bringing her down was the last thing on his mind.

"I never wanted to testify against Enid," Waldholtz said. "I wasn't going to sell Enid down the river."

Court documents indicate he may be lying -- once again.

His Pittsburgh family, seeking financial help for Joe's senile grandmother Rebecca Levenson, forced him into bankruptcy in 1996 in an attempt to find money he may have been hiding. Documents filed in Pennsylvania's Allegheny County, declaring Joe an official debtor, paint him as a willing but unbelievable witness against Enid.

"The United States Attorney's Office had intended to use the testimony of the Debtor in some type of criminal charge against his ex-wife but declines to do so upon the current recent revelation in the news media that Joseph Waldholtz was a heroin addict," read one court motion, filed by Pennsylvania bankruptcy trustee Gary L. Smith.

Federal prosecutors officially cleared Enid of wrongdoing in November 1996, though she and her attorneys have refused to release a one-page letter sent to her at the time by Assistant U.S. Attorney Craig Iscoe, stating prosecutors' views on the case.

In sworn U.S. Bankruptcy Court documents, Greene's attorneys maintain that the federal prosecutors' yearlong investigation "concluded there was no credible evidence that Ms. Greene was involved in Joseph P. Waldholtz's criminal endeavors." All of Joe's allegations to the contrary, they contend, "were absolutely false."

Enid resigned from Congress after only one term and has spent the years since then as a full-time single mother, raising the couple's daughter Elizabeth, now almost 3.

Throughout the barrage of publicity attending the Waldholtz saga, she has insisted she was completely taken in by Joe, and knew nothing of his crimes -- until it was too late. Today, she says she views Joe's plea bargaining with prosecutors as another of his masterful manipulations.

"The longer he made up stories about me, the longer he could stay in hotels, eat meals at taxpayers' expense, and avoid going to jail," she said in an interview from her Salt Lake City home.

As Joe now surfaces again, in lengthy interviews with *The Tribune* and

The Hill, a weekly publication covering Congress, Greene says she worries he will be turned into a folk hero, a kind of humorous Utah politics version of skydiving robber D.B. Cooper. "This isn't funny," she said.

Greene called his claims about his motives and the lack of a plan "classic Joe. It's a way of saying, 'It's not my fault.'"

"You can't do what he did without knowing exactly what you're doing," said the 39-year-old attorney. "Lots of people have substance-abuse problems and weight problems, but they don't do what Joe did."

Early Days: Otherwise known as Inmate No. 20395-016, Joe Waldholtz seemed nostalgic as he recounted the early days.

Joe and Enid met through the Young Republicans in spring of 1991. He was a GOP operative and senior aide to Republican National Committeewoman Elsie Hillman of Pennsylvania; she, an ambitious deputy chief of staff to ex-Utah Gov. Norm Bangerter.

Waldholtz said he was immediately attracted to Greene's intelligence, "her beautiful face, her beautiful hair." Charming and urbane, Joe decided shortly after that he wanted to marry her.

According to Joe and court documents, his pattern of financial lawbreaking was well under way as early as 1988, as he syphoned funds from his grandmother's stock account to finance his heavy personal spending.

The son of a Pittsburgh dentist, he picked up restaurant tabs, jetted around town in limousines, and wore expensive suits. He told Enid and friends he had a non-existent family trust with "more money than God."

Waldholtz moved to Utah in 1992, ostensibly to provide advice and financial help to Enid's first campaign for the Salt Lake County-centered 2nd Congressional District, against Democrat Karen Shepherd. Their romance blossomed.

The '92 campaign "was terribly run," said Waldholtz. "It's been said that the Democrats thought they were running against the Mormon kiddie show -- and they were right."

Seeds of the couple's destruction were sown with Enid's Nov. 3, 1992, election defeat, he said.

"When you see the person you love most in the world curled up in a ball on the floor of her bedroom, sobbing because she'd lost and let down her party, her state, her friends, her family, her supporters -- and you really felt she lost to someone who didn't represent Utah -- it has an effect."

In fact, he said, it turned the Greene-Shepherd rivalry into a holy war.

Specifically, Waldholtz resolved that money would be no object in Greene's next campaign. They never would be outspent again.

Joe said he especially resented that some Mormon Utahns had voted against Enid because she was not married. Even so, Waldholtz hotly denied their marriage in August 1993 was born of political expediency.

"I know people said it was a merger, not a marriage," he said. "No. We were very much in love."

But he said that their wedding -- an expensive, high-society gala at the then-Hotel Utah -- was a bizarre blend of personal ritual and political aspiration. They were married by Utah Gov. Mike Leavitt, before a roster of 870 guests drawn from the ranks of Utah elected officials.

"It was a mini-rehearsal for a state convention," Waldholtz said.

They honeymooned in Hawaii, and stiffed the hotel on the bill. There began a spate of high living and widespread debt.

Using at least 17 different credit cards, shopping at stores such as Nordstrom and Saks Fifth Avenue, records show, Waldholtz tore through purchases of jewelry, fine clothing, expensive furniture, catered meals, even bottled water for the dog, Winston.

"Winston never drank Perrier!" Waldholtz said indignantly at one point. "It was Mt. Olympus bottled water."

Enid has contended she found these expensive tastes foreign to her own wealthy but frugal upbringing, but she went along.

"That really makes my teeth on grind," Waldholtz responded. But then, he stopped short of blaming Greene. "I'm just going to take it on the chin and say, 'OK.' . . . Our lifestyle speaks for itself. It was a mess."

Meanwhile, said Waldholtz, preparations for the 1994 campaign began almost immediately. In early 1993, Joe took a job as an unpaid director of the Utah Republican Party, using it to deflect possible GOP challengers.

He had reservations about Greene being a candidate, he said, but she was adamant about running again to vanquish her past failure.

"I understand that Enid disputes that, but I distinctly recall that conversation," he said. "I'm not saying I didn't want her to run, but it was a crusade. Look at what we did. Look at how it was."

Once launched, Waldholtz said, the Enid '94 campaign lived in constant terror of a repeat, last-minute loss. On Joe's advice, she changed her hairstyle and sought to project a more gentle image.

A low-grade panic permeated the office -- made worse as Joe's trail of bounced checks became increasingly impossible to ignore. Creditors called daily, and Waldholtz put them off with ever more convoluted explanations: A checkbook was stolen. An aide screwed up. Mail was lost. A bank account was inadvertently closed.

Enid ignored or misread the warning signs because "the candidate doesn't get involved in campaign minutia," said Joe.

Ensuing months would, in fact, bring five-figure alarms. American Express sued Joe for \$50,000 in April. A \$60,000 bounced check to Salt Lake department store O.C. Tanner became public in June. Staff members started bailing out.

The paranoia grew daily, said Waldholtz, as his fear of being found out became all-consuming.

In Pittsburgh, Joe's father Harvey Waldholtz and his cousin Steve Slesinger had caught on to his theft of the grandmother's estate and pursued a lawsuit, demanding that he account for the cash. Joe stonewalled on request after request, offering his usual litany of excuses.

Privately, Waldholtz tossed back growing numbers of prescription painkillers sent to him in cigarette cartoons by friends in Pittsburgh, a habit that started with back pain but soon swung out of control. His weight swelled.

"I was numb," he said. "I was out of my mind."

Desperate for money, Waldholtz claimed his family trust was tied up in litigation and looked elsewhere.

He said he devised a transfer of cash to the campaign from Enid's millionaire father, D. Forrest Greene, in exchange for a bogus piece of Pittsburgh real estate. He convinced Enid it was legal on paper, and they approached Mr. Greene, who agreed.

The deal eventually would bring some \$1.8 million into Enid '94 coffers, and fuel an avalanche of slick TV advertising -- all in gross

violation of federal limits on campaign donations. Aware of the complex transaction, Enid would publicly call the infusion "family money."

Waldholtz likened the overkill to marshalling "more forces than it took to drop a bomb on Hiroshima."

Of the involvement of Enid's parents, Waldholtz said, "All they were trying to do was help their daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Greene never tried to hurt anyone."

As they watched the campaign go crazy, Enid '94 aides have said Waldholtz jealously isolated Greene from anyone who might tip her off to his wrongdoing -- a claim Joe denied. Rather, he countered, their marriage isolated them both.

"It was a sick, co-dependent relationship," Waldholtz said.

Why was she so gullible?

"Sometimes people believe what they want to believe and what they need to believe," said Joe, who added that Greene's apparent blindness "was all about winning. Winning. Winning."

Win, they did. Greene beat incumbent Shepherd and independent candidate Merrill Cook in November 1994, after leading that year's third most expensive House campaign victory in America.

Enid announced she was pregnant shortly after winning. Their marriage would unravel within 12 months.

With Enid distracted by her job in Congress, Waldholtz said he ran even further amok. Their millionaire lifestyle continued, now from an \$800,000 Georgetown townhouse. The angry bill collectors were legion. When the congressional office chief of staff, David Harmer, resigned, Joe took over his duties.

Invoking his wife's name, Waldholtz continued to secure cash from his father-in-law as "loans" and moved money frantically between bank accounts in Washington, Utah and Pittsburgh, hoping to stave off creditors.

Improprieties with a House credit union account led the FBI to quietly begin an investigation.

Elizabeth, their daughter, was born Aug. 31, 1995.

The Collapse: By then, the world was closing in. Press stories on their finances mounted. Badgered by Enid and her brother-in-law, Jim Parkinson, to explain the rising tide of red ink, Waldholtz finally concocted a story that board members for the family trust were flying to Washington to meet him. On Nov. 11, 1995, Joe and Parkinson headed to Washington's National Airport to meet them.

Then Waldholtz ditched Parkinson at the airport and disappeared.

"There wasn't a lot of planning," said Joe. "I was winging it."

His head filled with "fear, incredible sadness, thoughts of suicide," he hopped a train to Springfield, Mass. "because that's where the train took me." He holed up in a hotel room and watched himself on CNN every 20 minutes. His vanishing made national headlines.

"It was surreal. I felt like a hunted animal," he said. Enid filed for divorce. The feds issued a warrant for his arrest.

He moved on to Philadelphia, skipping from hotel to hotel to cover his tracks. Skulking through the lobby of the Philadelphia Marriott, he ran into attorney and friend Jeff Liebmann.

"Joe, how are you? I'm reading that Enid just filed for divorce,"

Waldholtz recalled Liebmann as saying.

"Can't say it's one of my best days," Joe replied.

The lawyer persuaded Joe to return to Washington, which he did two days later. After surrendering to prosecutors, he emerged from the federal courthouse to a phalanx of reporters, "their camera shutters clicking like a swarm of bugs."

He hit rock bottom six months later, when his first meeting with Enid since his disappearance touched off a deep depression. "I felt like I was dead," he said. Out on bond, Waldholtz flew home to Pittsburgh, secured a bag of heroin and started using.

Within days, he felt "real sick" and checked into a drug rehabilitation clinic. When the heroin use and continued check bouncing came to light, a federal judge revoked his bond and threw him into a Washington, D.C., jail to await sentencing.

In October 1996, out of excuses, he pleaded guilty to tax, bank and election fraud and went to prison for 37 months.

From the Ashes: Today, Waldholtz says his stay at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp near Montgomery, Pa., has given him a second chance. If his good behavior continues, he could be released to a halfway house later this summer.

Waldholtz has lost nearly 120 pounds through daily jogging and weight lifting. He is active in prison educational programs and has worked three prison jobs. Waldholtz claimed that extensive drug counseling has helped him mend and understand his life.

He said he wants to go back to school, get an MBA and find work away from politics and spin.

Greene said nobody has a greater interest in believing Waldholtz has reformed his life. "That is the quintessence of being a parent, putting the interests of your child before your own," she said. But she finds it impossible to accept.

"Nobody who has dealt professionally or personally with people like Joe gives me any hope that he can change his behavior," she said. "My family and I have been through the fires of hell. He can't hurt me anymore.

"But I worry about Elizabeth."



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Transcript of Joe Waldholtz Interview

Excerpts from 6-10-98 Interview with
Joe Waldholtz at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp near Montgomery,
Pennsylvania

The Salt Lake Tribune: So, exactly when will you be released?

Joe Waldholtz: I'd prefer not to say. I don't want the publicity. The guys in here don't deserve it. People are going to be reunited with their families in the parking lot, and it would look like a circus. Let's just say, 'Later this year.'

Tribune: How often are you in contact with Enid?

Waldholtz: Periodically. I write Elizabeth (the couple's infant daughter) every week or so, and I've talked to her on the phone recently. She's just at that age where she's funny. Enid's been good about that. She sends pictures. ... That's really been the hardest part of all of this, is being away from her. That's what hit's you here. People will say, 'Well, look at what they did.' That's true, but it doesn't change what goes on in here with the kids and the families.

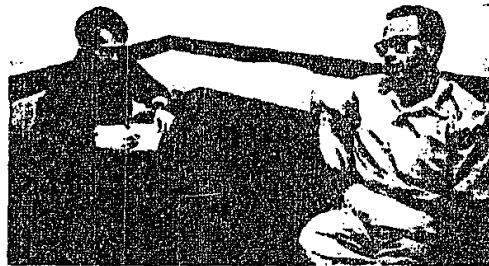
Tribune: Prison life appears to suit you. What is your routine in here?

Waldholtz: It's not exactly the gulag, but it isn't Club Fed, either, but there's no way Allenwood will ever escape that image. I run now. Me. Running. Unbelievable. I burst out laughing when I think of it. It's not something you'd expect of Joe Waldholtz. I lift weights. I do things that I never had time to do before and never really was concerned about.

I've spent a lot of time focusing on fixing me. There's two ways to deal with incarceration. Some inmates walk around angry at the system, angry at other people. I decided to get angry at me and fix what was wrong with me. I've tried to use it as a time to heal and fix what was so very, very wrong.

This is a camp. Minimum security. There is no fence. There are no cells. We live in dorms. We're not restricted. That's the privilege of being in a facility like this.

Tribune: Have you made friends at Allenwood?



Salt Lake Tribune Reporter Tony Semerad interviews Joe Waldholtz at Allenwood Federal Prison Camp.

Waldholtz: I can't minimize the fact that it's the people who get you through. This is not fun, but you become friends with people and you meet people you ordinarily wouldn't meet. Everyone here is not a Republican activist. Some days are better than others. In the winter, you can't go out as much, and it's so boring. I mean, how much TV can you watch. There's a good education department here. There are books, magazines.

I can't say the same for the D.C. jail.



Tribune: What was that like?

Waldholtz: For the first time in my life, I came out of my Republican ivory tower, I came face to face with people who couldn't read and couldn't write. They asked me to read letters to them from their families. I was so blown away by that, I would go back to my cell in tears, literally.

For years, I sat around and talked about public policy and politics, and here I was coming face to face with people I would not have met in ordinary circumstances. It was a profoundly moving experience. What chance to they have? I don't think I would have said that three years ago.

That doesn't mean I've changed philosophy. I agree, in fact, even more so, with the idea that if you give a man a fish, he eats for a meal. Teach a man to fish, he eats for a lifetime. I will always agree with that.

Tribune: Self-empowerment.

Waldholtz: Absolutely. And that's what I've tried to do here. It's completely up to the individual. I could have come here and gained 300 pounds, and sort of rolled around the compound, you know?

Tribune: Any threats to your personal safety here?

Waldholtz: No.

Tribune: How about in D.C.?

Waldholtz: No, although they were very concerned when I went into the facility, though. I was locked down for the first two weeks. That was kind of tough.

Tribune: Is there time for politics in prison?

Waldholtz: Oh yeah, there have been some fascinating conversations that take place. In fact, one of the inmates here is in for protesting at a military installation. He's one of those conscientious objectors people. He's one of those people who never got over the 1960s or heard that the

Supremes broke up. We have just incredible conversations. We have fun.

I shied away from the political stuff for the first year and a half, but someone asked if I wanted to read, Spin Cycle (by Washington Post media reporter Howard Kurtz) and I said, "Sure!"

Tribune: How does the world of Washington politics seem to you now?

Waldholtz: It is as ridiculous as the people think it is, maybe even more so.

Tribune: What has been your lowest point, emotionally?

Waldholtz: In August of 1996, I had to come to Utah. That was one of the toughest days of my life, not in terms of the media, but from dealing with the people I had to deal with.

Tribune: That was the first time you had seen Enid face to face since your disappearance in November 1995.

Waldholtz: That's correct. I really didn't expect to see her and was not prepared emotionally to deal with her. It was a very difficult day. And the media made more of a circus of it. Enid's performance didn't exactly help. It was just bad. I remember that night going out with friends in Utah, and I felt like I was dead. I remember calling friends and sitting there and sobbing.

Tribune: Had Enid hardened herself more than you had expected?

Waldholtz: I don't know if it's possible for Enid to be harder than I expect. It just wasn't at all how I wanted it to be.

I had had problems with narcotics at various times in the past. I had several periods abstinent, not sober, and there is a difference. Anyway, I came back to Pittsburgh. I had never felt emptier in my life. It wasn't that I expected things to be good. I just didn't expect them to be that awful. I didn't get to see Elizabeth that day. It was a media circus. Reporters were everywhere. It was harder to laugh that day. Ordinarily, I can see the humor in almost anything, because I have a sense of humor. Others don't. But that day it was tough.

Instead of going back and going to a meeting, I did the wrong thing. Even now, I flinch at the word heroin. It's so surreal. I think it clearly shows a clear path of self-destructiveness and sickness. It's just so blatant.

Tribune: This didn't come out of the blue though. Your drug problems started with painkillers for a bad back?

Waldholtz: Yeah, painkillers and marijuana. And that, obviously, became a very bad problem with narcotics.



Tribune: You weren't addicted for long.

Waldholtz: No, but it was a very sick period of time.

Tribune: Tell me about Allenwood's drug programs.

Waldholtz: I'm so grateful for the opportunity I've had here and what I've been able to learn. I've just finished my term as secretary of the Alcoholic Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous group Conscience. There's a very comprehensive program here that I've learned a great deal from. A great deal from. The staff is wonderful. I can't say enough good about the man who is my instructor, Steve Salvatore. The people who run the programs here are really great.

Tribune: You fell into heroin use in Pittsburgh. Is that why you want to stay out of Pittsburgh once you're released?

Waldholtz: They say you're supposed to change people, places and things. Okay. Lessons learned. I will change people, places and things. I will go back to school and get on with my life in a different direction. I have a lot of amends to make for a whole lot of destruction in my past.

And I'm not minimizing some of the good things that I did and worked on, but focusing on the specifically on the amends. There are real concrete things that I want to do. That's what this process is all about. Change is a process. It doesn't happen overnight. I don't expect or deserve instant credibility. But, what I do expect is a shot to go out and rebuild my life, and I think I'll get that.

Tribune: Where will you live?

Waldholtz: I've always liked the Northeast. I'm an Easterner, much as I was fond of Utah.

Tribune: Any plans to visit Utah?

Waldholtz: Sure, to see my daughter and visit friends. I mean, I had some good years in Utah. But that will also be difficult. But I don't think I could see living in Utah. Enid will live there, but she'll also probably end up in Washington.

Tribune: How are things with your family?

Waldholtz: Good. There's been a great deal of healing. They've been up. We've made a lot of progress. There's been a lot of healing. Things are much, much better, better than I ever hoped they could be at this point. I talk to them 97 times a week. Things are good and getting better. We're all moving forward.

The hardest thing for me, I think, will be how to deal with Elizabeth. There's only so much that letters and isolated phone calls can do. I've been away a long time.



Tribune: Any career plans?

Waldholtz: I'm going back to school. I want to get an MBA and do something real. Not public relations. Not politics. Not spin. If honesty is the foundation of change -- and that is what we're taught here -- I'd like to do something real. I'm not interested anymore in bending what I have to

say to try and make it acceptable or agreeable to 51% of 'X.' That just doesn't do it for me anymore. Sometimes I laugh at that now.

Tribune: So is politics out completely now?

Waldholtz: Not entirely. As Enid used to say, 'Politics is like malaria. Once you've been bitten by the bug, it's always there. Sometimes it's active. Sometimes it's not. I'm always interested in it. I've followed the trial and tribulations of President and Mrs. Clinton and the Gores with, uh, bemusement.

Tribune: How about Utah politics?

Waldholtz: I follow that to, and always get a good laugh about it. There are some good people out there. What I'd like to people who worked so hard for Enid to know is that they're trust in her was not misplaced. Enid was a great representative. I'm sure she'll be back in some capacity.

Tribune: Should she be?

Waldholtz: That's up to the voters. I think she should be given a fair shot.

Tribune: Would you vote for her?

Waldholtz: Of course.

Tribune: Should Utahns believe her story?

Waldholtz: It's such a lengthy story. (laughs)

Why not? The facts speak for themselves. I'm here. Enid's not. I was indicted. Enid wasn't. A whole lot of stuff went on and the government cleared Enid. Isn't that where it ends?

I know what Enid said. I know what I said. I know what the government said. I know what the government did. I don't think there's anything that prevents her from running again. My wrongdoing was my wrongdoing.

Tribune: There was a long delay between the time prosecutors clearly had enough to put you away and the time they did. Were you working on deal to testify against Enid?

Waldholtz: Oh God, no. That's funny. I never wanted to testify against Enid. I didn't want to bring Enid down. I kind of wanted her and her lawyers to stop the vitriol.

(Sighs) Look, I hate talking about Enid. It really irritates me in public statements when I read more negative stuff by Enid. I don't have anything negative to say about her. I don't want to say anything negative about her. I simply want to be left alone. There's been enough hurt for everyone, mostly for our daughter. It's time to move forward. We don't need more political posturing. I know it's politically expedient to dump stuff on people, but you know its just time to move forward. That stuff bothers me.

A friend of mine said, about a week and half before the 1994 election, mother and daughter are watching TV, and the little daughter saw one of the 10,000 'I Love Lucy' style campaign spots we were running ... (laughs) ... and the little girls asks, 'Mommy, is that Enid Greene?' And she answers, 'No honey, that's Enid Waldholtz.'

There was such a dramatic difference between the Mean Enid Greene of '92 and the 'I Will' woman of 1994. After the iceberg hit, she turned back into the Mean Enid Greene of the '92 campaign. And I regret that, because that's not Enid, even though some people think it is.

But that's for her to deal with.

Tribune: It sounds like you don't want your lives mixed together anymore than she does.

Waldholtz: I really don't. I get real bored with it and I've said that to her. She says, 'I only talked about you when somebody specifically asks me.' I'm like, 'Get on with it.' Our lives are separate and distinct.

Tribune: Could this have all happened if Enid had wanted political office as desperately as she apparently did?

Waldholtz: The seeds of our destruction were sown Nov. 3, 1992 (the day of Enid's first defeat.) I cannot tell you the pain, the humiliation that went with that unfortunate loss to Mrs. Shepherd. The '92 campaign was terribly run, terribly underfinanced, and the people running it were completely out of their league. It's been said that the Democrats that they thought they were running against the Mormon kiddy show -- and they were right.

When you see the person you love most in the world curled up in a ball on the floor of her bedroom sobbing because she'd lost and let down her party, her state, her friends, her family, her supporters -- and you really felt she lost to someone who didn't represent Utah -- it has an effect. We went through a real rough time. It was a bad time in our lives. I was very bitter. I can remember being in Smith's and wanting to push the shopping cart into people, particularly active LDS women who didn't support Enid because she wasn't married, and therefore thought she was pro-choice and that Shepherd was pro-life. That stuff got to us.

Fast foward to January of 1993, where Joe and Enid are watching C-Span and the swearing in of the 103rd Congress. As they went through the roll call and got to Shepherd and I heard that voice call out, 'Foley,' I turned to Enid and we were both in tears, and I said, 'That's the last first vote that-- deleted-- will ever cast.'

We were on a mission, and it wasn't just us. It was the E... people. It was almost religious fervor and a deep seated animosity that went along with that battle. I laugh now, because it's so funny to me, but at the time, it was serious. When we caught Dylan Shepherd (Karen Shepherd's son) outside Enid's house in 1992 and the Shepherd women dressed in black, throwing mustard -- it was all unbelievable.

Think about all this stuff: The private detective, Shepherd's kid ... all that nonsense. Madness. Madness. The people of Utah deserved better than that, and I'm sorry to the people of Utah that I helped provide that. You just saw two people hate each other so much. Every time Mrs. Shepherd would cross the floor and go, 'Hello Joe,' and shake my hand, me, being from the East, I would want to ... I don't know what I would want to do, but it wasn't nice. Instead I would have to do the Utah, 'Hello Karen, how are you?'

It was all so fake. It was all so fake.

After one debate, the day before the election, we finished and Mrs. Shepherd's supporters kind of surrounded her, and they were in tears, because they knew what was coming the next day. And I wish I could say I felt compassion, but I didn't. I thought they got what they deserved for what they did in '92. I still object to the mischaracterizations. Enid did not plagiarize her budget. Karen spent a whole lot of time in '94 talking about Enid and very little time talking about Karen. She had a record that was indefensible, and that's why she went down.



Tribune: So, after 1992, you vowed never to lose again because of a lack of spending.

Waldholtz: And that's what happened in 1992. Enid should have won that. Enid doesn't like to raise money. No political person does.

I distinctly remember a conversation we had on the second floor of our home in October 1993, saying to her, 'You know there's no law that says you have to run,' because we had agreed she would have X amount of dollars in the bank by that time, and we didn't. We were newly married. It didn't have to be.

I understand that Enid disputes that, but I distinctly recall that conversation. I can tell you where it happened. She wanted to run. And I certainly supported her on that. I'm not saying I didn't want her to run, but it was a crusade. Look at what we did. Look at how it was.

Tribune: Where did that paranoia come from?

Waldholtz: She went from 20 points up to losing in 1992. It's that simply. We were never the same after that.

Tribune: Did you feel your personal relationship with Enid depended on what you could deliver to her politically?

Waldholtz: Never. I know people said it was a merger, not a marriage. No. We were very much in love. Our relationship did not hinge on her

winning.

Tribune: What was behind the lavish lifestyle, the shopping sprees, the expensive food, the limos, bottled water for the dog?

Waldholtz: Winston never drank Perrier! Winston never drank Perrier! It was Mt. Olympus bottled water.

Tribune: Okay, but what about the lavish lifestyle?

Waldholtz: People need to look honestly at how we lived.

Tribune: That's not an answer. She says you were the wanton spender, and that it was all new to her, that you were leading her along.

Waldholtz: That really makes my teeth on grind. I mean, the pictures that have been painted of me... (Pauses.) No matter what I say, it's going to be shot at by Enid, so I'm not going to say anything. I'm just going to take it on the chin and say, 'Okay.' I'm not here to throw mud at anyone.

Our lifestyle speaks for itself. It was a mess, and now it's not. Were there times that we went overboard? Clearly. Who even remembers all the details?

Tribune: What about your wedding? Wasn't that a little extravagant?

Waldholtz: That wasn't supposed to be like that. Again, trying to mix the two different cultures, the political and the personal, the fact that it was a mini-rehearsal for a state convention... I didn't really think that 871 people would come. The whole thing was ridiculous and the whole thing got dumped on me. Okay, fine. I mean, 871 people, how many of those were really mine. Come on! It was the Utah culture. You invite everyone you ever knew and everyone comes and expects a fruit cup and a mint and a nut. People from the East are like, 'Hi, can we get a drink?' and I'm like, 'Yeah, grape juice!' That was a very stressful time.

Tribune: What about the Georgetown mansion?

Waldholtz: The Georgetown mansion. Can we go off the record?

Tribune: No.

Waldholtz: Okay then, I guess it was lavish. It was lavish. (His tone turns sarcastic.) And I picked it all. The house. Every stick of furniture...

Tribune: Were you trying to impress her?

Waldholtz: Nothing impressed Enid.

Tribune: What was going through your mind in the blur of bounced checks and financial shenanigans?

Waldholtz: Nothing was going through my mind. That was the problem. It wasn't a planned thing and that may be the hardest thing for people to believe. I went from crisis to crisis to crisis. That's what so

insane about. There was no plan. It was crisis management.

Tribune: There have been claims you isolated Enid from everyone, especially campaign staffers who might have warned her of your misdeeds. Was that part of your strategy?

Waldholtz: There was no strategy.

Tribune: Did you isolate her? Why was she missing the warning signs?

Waldholtz: Enid deals with who she wants, how she wants, on her own terms. Enid was the candidate. The candidate doesn't really get involved in campaign minutia. (Pause.)

I'm not going to say anything negative about Enid and it makes it very hard when statements like this are made. I didn't control who Enid picked up the receiver and spoke to on the telephone. I don't feel I cut her off. Enid and I worked as a team.

Tribune: What do you think is the most serious crime you committed along the way?

Waldholtz: Not being honest with my wife.

Tribune: You appeared to be completely unafraid of getting caught.

Waldholtz: Let's be honest. It was irrational. There wasn't though. It wasn't planned out. People make it sound like there was this mastermind plan of illegal activity. That is not how it happened. There was no orchestrated agenda. It was simply madness.

Someone who weighs whatever I weighed, 333 pounds, something is wrong. Hello! I had longstanding issues with substance abuse, food addiction. There was obviously something deeply, deeply wrong with me. That wouldn't surprise anyone. You can't be that heavy and you can't abuse narcotics that badly and not have some issues that need to be dealt with. I'm real pleased that I have. I desperately wished that it hadn't happened like this and that so many people hadn't been hurt.

Tribune: Do you feel that explains your actions?

Waldholtz: It's very tough to accept what I've had to accept. When you take all the skin off and the rose-colored glasses, there's a pain and a lot of hurt and a lot of wrongdoing. And that is an overwhelming thing to face and to realize that you've got to deal with it and you've got to move past it."

I didn't think I could. I found out I was stronger than I thought I was.

Tribune: What's your biggest regret?

Waldholtz: The lost potential of the whole situation. A marriage I thought would last forever, my wife, my daughter. The pain that went with losing that is incalculable.

Tribune: Why did you lie about being Jewish?

Waldholtz: I can't touch that. I've learned if you can't say anything nice, don't say anything at all. And I'm not going to say anything negative about the Greene family.

Tribune: So you were afraid they wouldn't accept your religion?

Waldholtz: Next question.

Tribune: Would you have believed your own story about your wealthy background and the family trust?

Waldholtz: No.

Tribune: What about Enid made her believe it?

Waldholtz: Sometimes people believe what they want to believe and what they need to believe.

Tribune: Why would Enid need to believe?

Waldholtz: It was all about winning. Winning. Winning. Winning.

Tribune: Part of the reason it's hard to accept there wasn't a plan on your part is that some of what you did was, frankly, ingenious. Take the one key transaction with Enid's father (D. Forrest Greene) that involved the transfer of proceeds from the sale of a non-existent piece of property into the campaign.

Waldholtz: That wasn't planned. Really, it was, 'Oh my God. We're two and a half weeks out and we're going to buy some ridiculous amount of advertising. What are we going to do?' And that was it.

Tribune: Whose idea was that transaction?

Waldholtz: Mine.

Tribune: Did Mr. Greene believe it was a loan?

Waldholtz: You'll have to ask him. All they were trying to do was help their daughter. I can't speak to the legality of those actions. Mr. and Mrs. Greene never tried to hurt anyone. They were trying to help Enid win. Do I think they wanted her to win as badly as we did win? Yes.

Tribune: Did it have the feel of something that was wrong?

Waldholtz: At the time, no. Anything to win. You're talking about two people who in their wedding receiving line, people were talking about her political opponents. I mean the whole thing has the feel of a TV movie about, coming to a station near you.

Tribune: Did you, as she claims, do a last-minute switch of one of her financial forms to get her signature on a falsified federal report?

Waldholtz: I don't recall that. It's been four years. I don't know Enid would never sign something she didn't believe was true. Never.

Tribune: Is the perception of Enid as a straight arrow justified?

Waldholtz: Enid is a good person.

Tribune: Capable of political corruption?

Waldholtz: No.

Tribune: Overly ambitious?

Waldholtz: How can someone be overly ambitious?

Tribune: Would Utahns have something to worry about with Enid in political office?

Waldholtz: No.

Tribune: What bothers you most about that period?

Waldholtz: All of it. That it didn't have to be. We could have had a wonderfully happy life together. And that we probably didn't have to marshal more forces than it took to drop a bomb on Hiroshima to beat Mrs. Shepherd in '94, when we probably would have won without all of that.

You know, I used to hate elections. I used to think it was so unfair that after all our hard work, other people got to decide. It made me crazy.

Tribune: What about the alleged break-ins at your home? Were you responsible for some of that, hoping to heighten Enid's paranoia?

Waldholtz: That, I completely dispute. The alarm wires were cut from the inside and we were completely terrified. The next door neighbors said they saw people on our roof at 5:30 in the morning. After what happened in 1992, we thought we had reason to be concerned. Why do you think we hired a private investigator?

Tribune: To look into your opposition, perhaps? For political dirty tricks?

Waldholtz: No. If we were going to do opposition research, we wouldn't have hired a private investigator to do it. It isn't a Utah thing to do anyway. I think (California private investigator) Malcom Shannon looked at FEC reports to see who had contributed to our opponents, but that's it. I read with great amusement that Karen Shepherd had her home and campaign offices swept for bugs. What, had they been reading the Haldeman diaries or something? Come on!

We're sitting there thinking they're going to steal the election again and they're thinking we bugging their home. You can see what it came down to: Paranoia.

Tribune: Were you surprised at how quickly Enid came to the

conclusion that she wanted to divorce you?

Waldholtz: Yeah, I guess so. But I can't say I was stunned by it. I don't think she was given a choice. I had to be.

Tribune: Were you, as she claimed at the time, a danger to Elizabeth at that time?

Waldholtz: No. And keep in mind, there's a difference between what goes on in people's live and what they say in public, for public consumption.

There was a time when they almost had me believing I was responsible for kidnapping the Lindbergh baby. I was the most evil person in the western world. I watched myself develop in their statements from Joe, to Joe Waldholtz, to Joseph P. Waldholtz. I mean, come on, we all took that same public relations classes.

Tribune: A message to the people of Utah. What would you want them to know about you now? What would you want them to think?

Waldholtz: I am so very sorry for the incredible pain and embarrassment that I caused so many people, particularly our family, friends, political supporters. I accept responsibility for my actions and I'm going to move on in a different direction.

Tribune: Should people be cynical about politics after something like this?

Waldholtz: I'd like to say that I believe that there aren't 535 members of Congress out there violating FEC rules. But when you look at what's going on in the White House right now, I can't say that. The system needs to change. Will it? Not anytime soon.

Tribune: Is there a finer line than most people think between your full-throttle corrupt behavior and standard operating procedure for somebody in most campaigns?

Waldholtz: I would say so. I would say so. Most FEC campaign reports could not withstand the scrutiny that ours received. That's not to say everyone is out there breaking the law. But the way the system is set up right now -- particularly with soft money and issue ads -- the changes that came out of the 1974 Watergate fiasco have so completely full circle the other direction, that it's now hurting so many things. It will be interesting what they do in the days ahead.

Tribune: Do you feel you've cheapened American politics?

Waldholtz: Oh god, yes. God, yes. And that's something I'm going to have to deal with.

Tribune: As you know, you've got at least two multi-million dollar judgments hanging over your head. What exactly awaits you when you leave prison?

Waldholtz: There's nowhere to go but up. Again, I take a look at the past. I'm cognizant and very, very mindful of what happened, and you have to move forward. I didn't think I could be at this point right now, where I was feeling reasonably good about the way things are going, but I am. There are no rose-colored glasses. I'm looking forward to the opportunities and the challenges that I'll be facing in the future.

I know the tasks that are ahead. There are a whole bunch of things that I will do when I get out, and put it back together one piece at a time.



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